A

SERMON

Preached before the

ALDERMEN

OF THE

City of London,

AT

St. *Lawrence*-Church, *Jan.* 30. 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

Being the day of the Martyrdom of

K. CHARLES I.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D. D.

LONDON:

Printed for *Richard Chiſwell* at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1681.

Ward Mayor.

Martis primo die Februarii 1680. *Annoq; Regis Caroli ſecundi, Angliæ, &c.* xxxiii.

THis Court doth deſire Dr. *Burnet* to Print his Sermon Preached yeſterday (being the Anniverſary Commemoration of the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the Firſt) at St. *Lawrence* Church, before the Aldermen and Liveries of the ſeveral Companies of this City.

Wagſtaffe.

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TO THE

Right Honourable

Sr. Patience Ward

Lord Mayor of the City of LONDON.

My Lord,

THE *favourable account that was brought your Lordſhip of this Sermon (your ſelf by an Indiſpoſition being kept from hearing it) as it induced you to deſire to ſee it in Print, which ſeconded by the Order of the Court of Aldermen, does now make it appear in publick; ſo it will give a new diſcovery of the little credit that is due to Report: which though it errs more generally on the ſeverer ſide, yet in this Inſtance was too partial to ſo poor a Performance.*

But the Argument treated in it will cover many faults: Eſpecially meeting with ſuch Equitable Judges as your Lordſhip is. Since the acquitting the Reformed Religion of ſuch a ſcandal as has been caſt on it upon the Ac-

count of that great wickedness then commemorated, and the persuading all Protestants to live in Peace and Love together, are subjects so acceptable to your Lordship, and so suitable to our present unhappy Circumstances, that the most imperfect Essay towards them will, I presume, be well received, and the Defects of it easily forgiven, by one that employs himself with so much Zeal and Fidelity in the securing our Holy Religion, and the maintaining of Truth and Peace in that Great City *now under your Lordships Government.*

May the God of Truth and Peace lead us into the way of his Truth, and make us know the things that belong to our peace; and may your Lordship be a great Instrument in promoting it. This is earnestly prayed for by

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble, and

most Obedient Servant,

G. BURNET.

ZECHA-

ZECHARY VIII. 19.

Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, The Faſt of the Fourth month, and the Faſt of the Fifth, and the Faſt of the Seventh, and the Faſt of the Tenth ſhall be to the Houſe of Judah joy and gladneſs and cheerful Feaſts; therefore love the Truth and Peace.

IT may be juſtly doubted whether horrid and unexampled crimes, ought not rather to be buried in oblivion, than be remembred, though with the greateſt deteſtation poſſible. The mentioning them too often, may make them grow too familiar to our thoughts: and ſome may be tempted to like them, and approve what it is deſigned they ſhould abbor: Yet on the other hand, ſome things carry in the firſt appearance of them, ſuch odious characters, that the nature of man ſhrinks at the very mentioning them; ſo that the frequent remembring them will encreaſe the horror at them: and the ſhewing the precipice over which ſome have fallen, may warn others to beware of approaching too near it, for fear of the like ruine and deſtruction.

I acknowledge it were better if we could have *Job*'s wiſh, That *that day ſhould periſh, that darkneſs and the ſhadow of death ſhould cover it, that it ſhould not ſee the dawning of the day, nor ſhould the light ſhine upon it.* It were better to ſtrike it out of our Kalendar, and to make our *January* determine at the 29th, and add theſe remaining days to *February*. But alas! this cannot be done; we cannot wipe out this blot: what was done, can never be forgotten. It cannot by others, and by us it ought not to be forgotten. The whole world lookt on with amazement, not knowing whether more to admire the heinouſneſs of the crime, the wickedneſs of the actors, or the patience and conſtancy of the ſufferer. The cry was loud on Earth, but much louder in Heaven. The ſhrieks and tears of many good Subjects, and particularly in this

this *Great City*, which, as I have been informed, ſpent that day in a general mourning, and bitter lamentation and aſtoniſhment, followed it faſt, to deprecate thoſe Judgments which ſuch guilt gave them cauſe to apprehend: But the Prayers of this *Martyr* went before it, for averting that Curſe, which he feared ſhould (but prayed that it might not) fall on his people. We have been ſince above twenty years putting up by publick authority, and in the name of the whole Nation, *David*'s Prayer, *Deliver us from blood-guiltineſs, O God, thou God of our Salvation.* So it may be now perhaps thought that after ſo long a continuance of mourning this ſin is expiated, and the land purged from the defilement of it: Upon which ſome may ask the Queſtion ſet down in the former Chapter, *Should I weep, ſeparating my ſelf as I have done theſe ſo many years?*

Chap. 7. 3.

The *Jews* had during the ſeventy years of the Captivity Faſted in thoſe months mentioned in my Text; the chief ſteps of that calamity which had ſo overwhelmed them having been made in theſe months. On the tenth month and the tenth day of the month (which according to Archbiſhop *Uſher* is exactly our 30*th* of *January*) the King of *Babylon* beſieged *Jeruſalem*: he took it on the fourth month. It was burnt on the fifth month: and on the ſeventh month was *Gedaliah* killed: Upon which the few that were left behind, were broken among themſelves, and diſperſed. But of all theſe, that on the fifth month was the moſt ſolemn Faſt; and therefore when the Queſtion was put concerning the continuance of the Faſt, that is only mentioned: and no wonder: For the burning of the Temple, was not only a temporal calamity, but it deprived them of all the means of obtaining the favour of God, of expiating their ſins by ſacrifices, and of conſulting the *Urim* and *Thummim*. It ſeemed reaſonable enough for them to Faſt during the Captivity, while they lay under the ſenſible effects of theſe judgments, which had broke out upon them in thoſe days: But that being over, and they being again reſtored to their Native Countrey, it was no unreaſonable thing for them to put the Queſtion, whether that ſhould be ſtill kept up. To this Three things are anſwered.

2 King. 21. 1.
Ibid. ver 3.
Ibid. v 8.
Ibid. v. 25.

First, that they had not Faſted aright on theſe days, *When ye faſted and mourned in the fifth and ſeventh month, even theſe ſeventy years, did ye at all faſt unto me, even unto me?* Intimating that it had been only Pageantry and matter of form; they had perhaps

Ch. 7. v. 5.

haps hanged down their heads like a Bullruſh, put on Sackcloth, and covered their heads with aſhes, which were the uſual rites of mourning among them: but there had been nothing done on thoſe days, ſuitable to the occaſion, for averting the wrath of God which had then broke out, and was ſtill hanging over them.

Secondly, The Prophet directs them to do ſuch things which became true penitents, and thoſe that indeed afflicted their ſouls; to *execute true judgment, and ſhew mercy and compaſſions every man to his neighbour, not to oppreſs the widow or the fatherleſs, the ſtranger nor the priſoner, and that none of them ſhould imagine evil againſt his brother in his heart*: and in this Chapter, that they *ſhould ſpeak every man the truth to his neighbour, and execute the judgment of truth and peace in their Gates.* This being done, Ibid 8, 9. 10. ver 17 V. 16, 17

The Third thing is in my Text, that upon their *loving truth and peace*, thoſe black and mournful days ſhould be converted to days of joy and gladneſs.

How theſe Anniverſaries were firſt ſet up, and by what authority, whether by the direction of any Prophet, or by common agreement, does not appear to us. We have both the Inſtitution and the continuance of another Anniverſary a little before this expreſly ſet down. Upon *Joſiah*'s death, *Jeremy* that foreſaw what was to follow under the reigns of his degenerated iſſue, made a lamentation, and ſet it to be ſung by the Quire of the mourners: upon which an *Ordinance was made*: and thoſe lamentations continued in uſe to the day in which that Book of the *Chronicles* was writ: which, as appears by the laſt Verſes, that mention the return of the Captivity under *Cyrus*, was above eighty years at leaſt after *Joſiah*'s death: for his Children reigned above ten years, and the Captivity laſted ſeventy; ſo long had that Anniverſary been obſerved. And it ſeems to be almoſt a law of nature, to commemorate both mercies and judgments on thoſe days in which they have been ſent us. 2 Chron. 35. 25.

We of this Iſland have had occaſion for Faſts on all theſe months: On the fourth month, reckoning according to the *Jewiſh* account, were the fatal Standards ſet up: On the ſeventh the horrid Maſſacre and Rebellion of *Ireland* broke out; and in *England* on that ſame day of the month, but a year after, the firſt Battel at *Edge-hill* was fought: On the tenth and on the tenth day of it was that wickedneſs done which we now mourn for: The King was murdered, and the Government wholly ſubverted:

verted: and on the fifth month were His Majesties Armies, that now reigns, defeated both at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*. It might have been expected that our 29th of *May* should have worn out the remembrance of the 30*th* of *January*, and now at the end of two and thirty years it may be reasonably asked, Should we still continue to Fast and Mourn? Shall the yearly return of this black and dismal day, with the melancholly thoughts and reflections which accompany it, be for ever observed? Shall we convey this entail of sorrow to our posterity? Does this blood continue still to cry for vengeance, as the blood of *Abel* did: or as the *Jews* say the blood of *Zacharias* the son of *Jehojada* the High Priest, continued still to bubble on the floor of the Court of the Temple, where he was killed, till the Captivity, that many thousand Priests being killed on the place, the Earth drunk it up: and shall neither the execution of Justice on the Murderers, nor the Prayers of the whole Nation remove this guilt?

On this occasion it may be no improper thing to run out on the horridness of so unexampled a wickedness: but I hope it is needless: I hope all men carry still in their minds such a horror at that fact, that their thoughts boil afresh within them at every time they reflect on it. Bloodshed without lawful authority fills the mind of the Criminal with black and terrible thoughts: and makes him oft a terror to himself, so that either the dead Ghost, or the apprehensions of guilt, haunt and follow such till they grow even weary of life; since there can be no reparation made to the party injured: So that it is scarce possible for the Murderer to stop even the cry of Blood in his own Conscience. The Innocence, and the Dignity, and the Sacredness of the person Murdered, are vast aggravations: and if such a crime comes in the conclusion, after so great an effusion of blood, that it has run down like water; and above all, if the actors have done what they could to entitle God to it, doing it with the forms of Justice, so that in the *place of judgment and righteousness, there was iniquity and wickedness*, and by their high pretentions to Piety and Zeal for Religion, the enemies of all Religion have taken advantage to mock at true Holiness, and the enemies of the Reformed Religion have thought they were now furnished with somewhat, by which they might cast back that heavy but just imputation laid on them, of setting up the Doctrines and encouraging the practices of deposing and killing of Kings, on the Protestants; All

Eccl. 3. 16.

these

theſe things concur to aggravate this crime, *Blood defiles the land, and it cannot be cleanſed of the blood that is ſhed therein, but by the blood of him that ſhed it*: And by *Moſes* law when that could not be found out, God appointed a ſolemn expiation to be made amongſt the *Jews*, in the name of the whole Nation. Blood is of ſo crying a nature, that it is ſaid of that ſhed by *Manaſſes*, that *God would not pardon it*: neither his late Repentance, nor the Reformation carried on by *Joſiah* could avert thoſe judgments, that were the juſt puniſhments of ſuch heinous ſins. All theſe things concur to give us a right ſenſe of that guilt, which we now lament and endeavour to remove. Numb 35. 33. Deut. 21. 6, 7, 8, 9. ver. 2 Kings 24 4.

It may be expected that I ſhould in the next place enlarge on the Vertues, the Piety, Chaſtity, Temperance, the Magnanimity and Conſtancy of mind of this Murdered Prince. But the performing this as it ought to be, I confeſs, is a Task above my ſtrength: eſpecially coming after ſo many who have done it with ſuch life, that any thing I could add, would be but a flat repetition of what has been often much better ſaid. And indeed we have this Character given us in ſuch true and laſting colours, in that *Picture* which he drew for himſelf, *in his ſolitudes and ſufferings*, that it is perhaps a piece of preſumption to take up the Pencil again, and to add any touches to what is ſo perfect, that it may be made worſe, but can hardly be the better for any addition. Beſides, that the ſtrains of a Panegyrick do not agree ſo well with the Solemnities of a Faſt. I ſhall therefore ſay no more, neither to raiſe the juſt eſteem and veneration of this Royal Martyr, nor to poſſeſs you with more deteſtation of ſo unparallel'd a wickedneſs; which as it had no pattern in any former Age, ſo I hope ſhall never be a precedent for after times: But ſhall return to the Queſtion put to the Prophet in the former Chapter, with the anſwer given to it both there and here, and in ſpeaking to it, ſhall diſcourſe of theſe three particulars.

Firſt, What ought to be the meaſures and rules of continuing Anniverſary Mournings upon ſuch great occaſions.

Secondly, What is to be done to have the occaſions of our mourning converted into joy and gladneſs. We ought to *love the Truth and Peace*.

Thirdly, That upon our doing this ſincerely, all the ſad effects of that which we now mourn for, ſhall be ſo entirely removed, that our days of Faſting ſhall be turned into cheerful or ſolemn Feaſts. To the Firſt:

There is a temper to be obſerved in publick as well as in private mournings, that they be neither ſo ſhort, as that it may thence appear we have a ſlight ſenſe of matters of ſuch great conſequence; not ſo long, as that either our ſorrows riſe out of meaſure high, or by the too frequent returns of thoſe days, the object of our griefs grow too flat. There is a mean between theſe extremes, *There is a time to mourn as well as a time to rejoice*: and *every thing is beautiful in its ſeaſon.* I ſhall therefore offer two rules, by which it may be reaſonably determined how long ſuch ſolemn mournings ought to be continued, and apply them to the preſent occaſion.

One is, As long as the ſad effects of that which originally cauſed them, continue, we ought to keep up our Faſts: for ſo long God ſeems to continue his diſpleaſure againſt us, and therefore we ſhould be ſtill renewing our interceſſions to turn it away. As long as the Captivity laſted, the People of the *Jews* did not doubt continuing the obſervation of their Faſts, but when they were brought back again to their Land, it ſeemed then more proper to put this Queſtion.

A Second is, When the ſame or the like ſins, which procured thoſe Judgments that are ſo much lamented, do continue: and when the circumſtances of a Nation ſeem to be almoſt the ſame, that they were on the occaſion that at firſt called for their mourning; then it is fit either to continue or to renew their obſervation of thoſe ſet Faſts. This was the caſe at this time of the Jews, they were beginning to contract alliances with the Idolatrous Heathens round about them, which had let in the former Idolatry, that had been the cauſe of their former Captivity; they became guilty of the ſame Immoralities, and therefore they are commanded *to love the Truth and Peace*, that ſo they being delivered from the Wrath of God, might ſerve him without fear. And now to apply this to our preſent Occaſion.

There were two very ill effects that followed upon the Crime acted this day, which ſtill continue: The one was, the advantage that many weak and prejudiced perſons took againſt the appearances of Religion, Prayer, and the motions of Gods Spirit; all theſe having been ſo much pretended to at that time. Many that were aſſured the Fact was Barbarous, and againſt all Law, Divine and Human, came upon that to infer, that Religion, the addreſſing to God in Prayer, and the being guided by the inward motions

motions of Grace and God's holy Spirit, were at beſt but the illuſions of fancy, if not the contrivances of deſigning Men. The Inference was as unjuſt as could be: yet ſo it was, that this falling upon young and raw perſons, who were by the heat of their tempers, much inclined to entertain thoſe prejudices; and that being wrought on by ſo great an Agent of *Hell*, as the *Author of Leviathan* was; many were upon this corrupted in their Principles about Religion in general. And for all the ſleights of Wit, the ſhews of Reaſon, and ſoftneſs of Stile that were in that *Book*, it could never have been ſo miſchievouſly ſucceſsful, as it then was, if it had not been for the ſcandals which were given by the impudent pretenſions of many of that time. Their unintelligible way of talking about Religion, their crumbling into ſo many Sects, the aſpirings of many under all the ſhews of Humility and Mortification, tended to make the Seeds of Atheiſm grow up plentifully. And to this, I ſpeak it knowingly, we owe the beginnings of all thoſe impious and immoral Maxims which have ſince over-run the Land. And do not theſe effects continue ſtill? Is not Devotion accounted by many to be either a matter of Form, or a piece of Enthuſiaſm? For earneſtneſs in Prayer, and depending on the inward aſſiſtances of God's holy Spirit, how have men who know or value theſe things little themſelves, taken occaſion from thence to diſparage them with much Impudence and Scorn? Some have thought they could not be eſteemed Loyal, if they appeared devout: and therefore to purchaſe the one Character were willing not only to throw off, but openly to reproach the other all they could. What ill effects this has had, how the Nation has been much corrupted by theſe Maxims, and God highly offended, is ſo obvious to every man's obſervation, that I need dwell no longer on it.

The other ill effect that ſtill continues, is the prejudice that the Enemies of our Church have caſt on the Reformed Religion: as holding that very Doctrine of killing Kings, for which they had been ſo juſtly charged. And perhaps that which at preſent is the ground of all our fears, had its riſe in a great meaſure from the Jealouſies which upon this occaſion were infuſed againſt the Proteſtant Religion. It will be therefore no improper thing to ſhew you how juſtly the Church of *Rome* is accuſed of this, and how unjuſtly it is caſt on thoſe of the Reformed Religion. That this charge is truly faſtned on the Church of *Rome* will appear in theſe particulars.

The power of depoſing Kings is certainly a Doctrine of their Church, as appears in the univerſal agreement to it, and the Tradition of it for above five Ages, in a more uninterrupted and uncontroverted ſeries, in all that time, than can be ſhewed even for Tranſubſtantiation it ſelf. Now if a King is depoſed by the Pope, and after ſuch depoſition, if he is not ſo tame as to lay aſide his Regal Dignity, which it is very likely few Princes will do, then they being lawfully depoſed, are Kings no more: and if they pretend to be Kings ſtill, they are Uſurpers: ſo he that kills them does not kill a King but an Uſurper. And if the Pope creates a new Prince, which by the ſame Authority is veſted in him, and is indeed a branch of the depoſing Power; then the new Prince being lawfully veſted with the Regal Authority, may as juſtly authoriſe any to kill the depoſed King, as a lawful King may ſet a price upon any Rebels head. This was well obſerved by thoſe who undertook to defend the depoſing power. *Swarez* writing againſt King *James* tells him in plain terms, [a] *That a King who is canonically depoſed may be killed by any private man whatſoever.* *Valentia* ſays, [b] *That an heretical Prince may be by the Popes ſentence deprived of life*: and *Becanus*, though Confeſſor to an Emperor, *Ferdinand* the II. ſays, [c] *No man doubts but if Princes are contumacious, the Pope may order their lives to be taken away.* I might name many more, but theſe may ſuffice: eſpecially ſince it is viſible that this is a certain and neceſſary conſequence of the depoſing Doctrine. And though *Gerſon* one of the beſt men of his Age, did at the Council of *Conſtance* where the Papal power was trodden under foot, and the Court of *Rome* had no influence (ſo vain a thing it is to diſtinguiſh between the Court and Church of *Rome*) preſs much for the obtaining of a Decree, *That no Subject ſhould murder his King or Prince*, even that could not eaſily paſs: and he himſelf was in danger of his life for ſoliciting it ſo earneſtly. In concluſion it was done, but with ſuch a reſervation as ſhews they would only condemn the aſſaſſinations of private Cut-throats; for thoſe were only condemned *Who killed their King without waiting for the ſentence of any Judge whatſoever*: ſo if ſentence is paſt by any Judge (the Eccleſiaſtical as well as the Civil) then this decree notwithſtanding, it will be lawful for a Subject to kill his King.

[a] *In Reg. Majeſt. Brit. Lib. 6. c. 4 Sect. 10*
[b] *In Thom. Tom. 3. Diſp. 151. g. 4 p 2.*
[c] *Cont. Ang. p. 145.*

I might here run out into many Inſtances to ſhew you how acceptable the killing of Kings has been to thoſe of that Church: how

how *Sixtus* the V. made a Panegyrick upon *Clement*'s murdering *Henry* the III. of *France*, before a Congregation of Cardinals: how *Francis Veronno* wrote both in defence of that fact, and of *Chaſtells* attempt on *Henry* the IV. how *Garnet* and *Hall* that ſuffered for the moſt deſperate attempt that ever was, I mean the Gunpowder Treaſon, are reckoned among the Martyrs in the Catalogues ſet out by the Jeſuits: and under the pictures and prints made for *Garnet* he is called *the true Martyr of Chriſt*. Legends of miracles have been alſo made for them, which will be reſerved till a fit time comes for their Canonization: which they deſerve full as well as *Thomas Becket* did, who was the greateſt Saint in the Church for ſome Ages, the bleſſed Virgin, nay, which is more, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf not excepted, if we may judge by the devotion that was payed at his Shrine, ſince by the Legier books of *Canterbury*, it appears yet on Record, that in ſome years above 950 l. was offered at his Altar, and not a ſix-pence at our Saviour's Altar, and but a few pounds at the bleſſed Virgin's. And to ſhew how well they approved of the Gunpowder Treaſon at *Rome*, *Gerard*, and *Greenwoll* or *Teſmond*, two of the principal Conſpirators, were ſo well entertained there, that eſcaping thither from the Juſtice of this Nation, the one was made the Pope's Penitentiary, and the other lived in the Engliſh College there, and officiated often in St. *Peters* in the Vatican.

After all this evidence, in which I have not once named *Mariana*, though they would make us believe, he is the only perſon of their Communion that ever maintained this opinion, it is apparent that the killing of Kings has been openly taught, and publickly encouraged in that Church: and that it is a neceſſary conſequence of the Depoſing Doctrine. What hand they had in this execrable crime, and how far they diſguiſed themſelves into all the forms and diviſions about Religion, that were among us, I ſhall not poſitively aſſert: It has been done with very much aſſurance, by perſons of great worth and credit: and there are many probabilities to induce us to believe it.

Two things were obſervable in the methods of carrying on this great wickedneſs, clearly borrowed from them: The one was, the actors pretending to Enthuſiaſms, and inward directions for what they did, though it was clearly contrary both to the Laws of God and Man. That the perſon of our Prince is Sacred, and exempted from puniſhment, is a conſtant Maxim of

our

our Government: which makes his ill Miniſters and Counſellors accountable for every thing that is done amiſs. That the Houſe of Commons cannot ſet up, by their ſingle Authority, a Court to judge of the life of the meaneſt ſubject: that a force put on either Houſe, though but a ſmall part were violently excluded, makes it to be no more a Houſe of Parliament; and that much more when the far greater part was ſecluded, they were certainly no Houſe of Commons: That one Houſe without the concurrence of the other, and the Royal aſſent joined to both, could not do any thing legally: and finally, That the Officers of the Army had no right to aſſume the Government into their hands; were all things ſo manifeſt according to the conſtitutions of this Kingdom, that they who acted ſo contrary to them, knew they could never juſtify themſelves by either Law or Preſident. It was neceſſary then to fly to ſomewhat, that ſhould ſeem to be above all the limitations and reſtraints of Law: and that was to pretend ſecret directions from God. A Doctrine that overthrows the main and fundamental principle of the Reformation, which is, That in all things which relate to God, the Scriptures only are to be our Rule. And indeed it is hard to determine whether the referring all controverſies of Religion to one infallible Judge, or the giving up of men to the heats of their own fancies, be the moſt dangerous principle. The latter ſeems worſe: for the former leaves us to the mercy of one man, whereas the other expoſes mankind to the fury and humour of every brainſick or deſigning man. It is certain, that in the publick actions of our lives, and in moral matters, Inſpiration without a warrant from Scripture, or a clear proof of a Divine Miſſion atteſted by ſome publick and ſupernatural ſign or miracle, is not only a fallacious, but may be a pernicious guide. That this was all borrowed from the Writings, and the publick and encouraged practices of the Church of *Rome*, from whom that which is true and rank Fanatiſciſm has iſſued out, though perhaps many of thoſe among us are not aware of it, has been made out ſo fully, and beyond contradiction by an eminent Writer of our own, that I need add nothing in confirmation of what muſt be univerſally acknowledged, by all who have read his learned Book on this ſubject.

Dr. Stillingfleet *of the Fanaticiſm of the Church of* Rome.

A 2*d* thing that appeared in carrying on the wickedneſs of this day, borrowed from the Doctrines of that Church, was, a principle that all the rules and conſtitutions of Government may be

be broke through by the ſounder and better part of the people at their pleaſure: that Princes and Parliaments, and the major part of either Houſe were ſubject not only to the whole body of the people, for this would not have ſerved their turn, but to the ſounder and better part. The reſolving all power in the people, was firſt taken up by the aſſertors of the Pope's depoſing power: for they argued, that if it belonged to the people, then the Pope repreſenting the Univerſal Church, all their rights did accrue to him; ſo that in their names he was to diſpoſe of Crowns as he pleaſed. But here theſe maxims were thus varied: The power was ſaid to belong to the people in common, but was to be managed by the better part, that is, the ſtronger, *the Army*, who aſſumed to themſelves the name of the better and ſounder part: for I am ſure I ſpeak within bounds, if I ſay it was not the Twentieth man, and I do not exceed if I ſay it was not the hundreth man of *England* that approved of it.

It is therefore a moſt unjuſt blemiſh caſt on the Proteſtant Religion, or the *Engliſh* Nation, to accuſe either the one or the other for that which was but the crime of a few hot-headed Enthuſiaſts, or ambitious Soldiers: and thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be wrought on by ſo ill grounded a prejudice, and to be ſo far carried by it, as to renounce our Communion, and go over to the Church of *Rome*, diſcover plainly that they neither underſtand their principles nor ours. We deteſt and condemn it, and they encourage and approve the like practices: and they may as juſtly accuſe the Proteſtant Religion of Adultery and Theft, becauſe ſome among us have been avowedly guilty of theſe ſins. The Church of *England* hath ever witneſſed her deteſtation of theſe practices and principles, and ſhared deeply in the ſufferings of their King: The whole Nation by their Repreſentatives in Parliament has condemned it, and appointed this ſolemn humiliation for expiating the guilt of it. And many of the moſt conſiderable Diſſenters, did even then, when it was not ſo ſafe to do it as it is now, openly declare againſt it both in their Sermons and Writings. This is what in Juſtice cannot be denied them, and many of them were no leſs active and induſtrious, and were indeed highly inſtrumental in the bringing home of his Majeſty that now Reigns. If ſome few have juſtified the ſhedding of this blood, as their number hath been but inconſiderable, ſo their Maxims have been chiefly borrowed from Popiſh Writers. One

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great inſtance of this appeared in many ſpeeches that were printed at that time, and were ſaid to be delivered in their Junto, which were almoſt word for word, taken out of a book that had been often condemned, and was ſtrictly prohibited, that went under the name of *Dolman*; but was believed to be written by *Parſons* the Jeſuit, who was perhaps one of the greateſt men that that order has produced; ſo manifeſtly did they copy from the Jeſuits School: and by that great impiety than acted by them, they have given ſome ſeeming but very falſe colours for taxing the Reformed Religion; by which Popery has had ſuch footing among us. By theſe things it may appear that we are yet under the ill effects of the guilt of this day, both in the ſtrength that Atheiſm received by it, and the advantages which the Papiſts have taken from it.

The other reaſon of continuing publick mournings is, when we are warned by any ſad ſymptoms, to fear the return of the like or of new calamities: and that this ſtill preſſes on us, to repeat our ſolemn humiliations, is ſo evident, that I need not ſtand long to make it out. We have been long under fears, that it might happen to us as it did to the Jewiſh Church, when it was her lamentation, *The anointed of the Lord, who was the breath of our Noſtrils, is fallen into their pits.* Our King is more to us in our circumſtances than theirs was to them, and we have had more cauſe to fear that he ſhould fall by the hand of a *Clement*, or a *Ravilliac*, and then what a black proſpect have we of moſt terrible confuſions to follow, on ſuch a fatal blow? or if even that ſacred life ſhould in a natural way expire, what can we ſee beyond it but fatal and gloomy days? Or if the diſorders among our ſelves ſhould burſt out into blood, what diſtractions and miſeries are like to follow? It is not to be conceived, that among them who are ſo zealous in oppoſing of a Plot againſt His Majeſties Perſon, our holy Religion, and the peace and ſafety of the Nation, there can be any that dares mock God and Man ſo audaciouſly as to be deſigning any ſuch thing, at the ſame time that they are accuſing others for it. To ſuppoſe it otherwiſe, were to give credit to the falſe ſuggeſtions and baſe contrivances of thoſe who deſign nothing more than to take us off from watching over their motions; by engaging us one againſt another, and infuſing ſuch Jealouſies as may effectually divide us among our ſelves: the only way that is now left, without a foreign power, firſt to break

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break, and then to conquer thoſe in ſeparated parties, whoſe united ſtrength they know they cannot reſiſt. I ſhall therefore rather encourage you to continue in this duty, than endeavour to perſwade you to it. Let us remember that we are commanded to *Fear God, and next to Honour the King*, and *by well doing to put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men: and that every ſoul ought to be ſubject to the higher powers, for the powers that are, are of God, and whoſo reſiſts them, reſiſts the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation; for they are the Miniſters of God, wherefore we muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but for Conſcience ſake.* Chriſt himſelf taught us to *render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's:* and he being in his ſtate of humiliation but a private ſubject, would not ſuffer the Sword to be drawn in his defence, and expreſly ſaid, that tho' he was a King, yet *his Kingdom was not of this world, elſe his ſervants would have fought for him.* Theſe things are plain and clear, and need no Commentary: His Apoſtles alſo charged thoſe whom they employed in ſetling the Churches, to *put them in mind to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magiſtrates, and to pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority; that under them we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.* And if it is ever ſeaſonable to enlarge on theſe duties, it is moſt neceſſary on ſuch a day; and that's a principal reaſon for the continuance of this Anniverſary. And thus I hope I have ſufficiently vindicated the continuance of our publick humiliation on this and ſuch like ſolemn days.

1 Pet. 2 17. Rom. 13. 1 2 3 4, 5. Math. 22 27. Math. 26. 52. Joh 18 36 Titus 3 1. 1 Tim. 2 2.

2. The next thing I propoſed to ſpeak to, was the duties that belong to ſuch ſolemn Mournings: Great and extream ſorrow cannot be expected, when ſo few that were concerned in it are alive; or if they are, I cannot believe that any ſuch are here in this place: And for them that were not ſo concerned, a bare horror at the fact, with prayers for averting the Judgments that may be conſequent to it, is too ſlight a thing. My Text directs us to things of more value and importance. We are to *love the Truth and Peace.* By *Truth* is either to be underſtood the entire complex of their Religion, called often by *David, the way of God's Truth*: or by *Truth* is meant candor and fidelity among men: ſo this applied to us muſt be underſtood either of the truth of the Goſpel, or of ſincerity and honeſty in our diſcourſes and actions.

For the first of these, we may well call our Religion *Truth*; since we believe nothing but what Jesus Christ and his Apostles delivered to the world, in the name of God: we have no new Doctrines added to this, introduced by false and deceitful men, supported by lying wonders, or counterfeited Writings. Our Doctrine as it is the *truth of God*, so is to be maintained and promoted by means suitable to the being and nature of that God from whom it is derived. We found nothing on made stories, or forged Records; we teach none of the Doctrines of falshood and equivocation, breach of faith or vows: dispensing with Oaths, dissolving of Leagues or Treaties. All these we have left to that Church, that as she grew up by lies and forgeries, so continues that trade still, which has been in former ages of such advantage to her. I need not insist on the Popes dispensing with the Oaths of Allegiance of Subjects to their Princes, breaking and dissolving Treaties, though confirmed by Oaths and Sacraments; a publick instance of which appeared in the battel of *Varna*, where the Turk appealed to Jesus Christ, whose name those Christians had affronted by breaking what was sealed by the most Sacred tie. The issue was both fatal and disgraceful to the Christian Army: All was done by the Popes Instigation, as well as Authority. A publicker instance was yet given at *Constance*, which shewed that the Church was no better than the Court of *Rome*: When those who came upon a safe conduct, were notwithstanding that condemned to be burnt: and a Decree was made, That Faith given to Hereticks in such a sort was not to be kept; though they had come to the place of judgment trusting to it, and would not have come without it. And how far they have since that time carried on the Doctrine of Lying and Swearing falsly, may appear by this one clear and undeniable proof: In *March* 79. there were many Propositions complained of at *Rome*, gathered out of the Writings of the Casuists, among which these are two:

Sess. 19.

Decree of the Pope lately printed in Latin and English. Prop. 26.

A man either alone or before others, may when he is asked, or of his own accord, or for his diversion, or any other end, swear that he did not do a thing, which he really did: having a secret meaning either of some other thing which he did not do, or of another way of doing it, or of any other Truth which he adds to it, in which case he is in Truth neither a Liar nor is he Perjured.

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A juſt cauſe of uſing thoſe ſecret meanings is as oft as it is neceſſary or profitable for the preſervation of Life, or Honour, or ſaving ones Goods, or any other act of Virtue, ſo that the concealment of Truth ſeems in that caſe expedient or deſirable. Prop. 27.

Upon this a condemnation followed by the Pope and the Congregation *de propaganda Fide.* In it we have a Confeſſion beyond exception that theſe Tenets have been taught among them. But it may be urged that they are now condemned: It is true they are ſo: But firſt, though they have been long complained of, they were not condemned till within theſe two Years. Secondly, they were not condemned by the Pope in the Conſiſtory; which would have made the Cenſure more Authoritative; but by the Pope and the Cardinals of the Court of the Inquiſition: upon which a remarkable thing followed. The Jeſuits who were much provoked at this Cenſure, moved the *Procureur de Roy*, or Attorny General at *Paris*, to put in a complaint againſt the publiſhing that Decree, ſince it came from the Court of the Inquiſition; which not being acknowledged in *France*, nothing flowing from that Authority could be received in that Kingdom: upon which the Decree was prohibited and ſuppreſſed: ſo ready are they to bear down any thing that ſtrikes againſt theſe ſtrong holds of Satan among them. And thirdly, This Cenſure is ſo penned that it does not import a condemnation, but is indeed only a prohibition: for theſe Propoſitions are not declared to be impious and immoral, or contrary to the Laws of God and of Nature: That had been more candid and ingenuous dealing. They are only condemned as being *ſcandalous and pernicious in practice*, that is to ſay, of ill conſequence: and all are required in the virtue of *holy obedience* and under *the pains of Excommunication* to teach them no more: ſo if a caſe happens that theſe may turn uſeful in practice, then a faculty may be ſecretly granted for taking off this Cenſure. From this it may appear what a door they have opened for the moſt diſingenuous practices imaginable: which is a ſhrewd preſemption that their Doctrine is not the Truth, when it is mixed with ſuch arts that ſavour more of him that was a liar from the beginning, than of the God of Truth.

We then that are of the Truth ought to love it, to reckon it our greateſt honour that we are called to the Knowledge and profeſſion of this holy Faith: we ought to adhere to it as long as we Live, and to be ready to lay down our Lives for it, if God ſhould

call us to it. But our *loving* it, ſignifies more than barely to ſpeak honorably or paſſionately concerning it: or to like it in oppoſition to Popery. To be a Proteſtant without being firſt a Chriſtian can ſignify nothing before God. To love it then is inwardly to delight in it, to be wrought on by its Precepts, ſo as to conform both our Hearts and Lives to it. Then we love it ſincerely when we meaſure our Belief by the Doctrines it delivers, and our Lives by the Rules it gives us. And as a particular branch of *Truth* in the general notion, we muſt be candid and ſincere in all our diſcourſes and dealings: We are not to advance even the beſt ends by acts of injuſtice; but to be ſtrict to theſe Rules of Truth the Goſpel preſcribes: Not to lie, or ſpread lies, nor to ſlander even our greateſt Enemies; not to deceive or cozen thoſe that deal with us: but to do to others as we would have others do to us; to do every thing as conſidering we are under the all-ſeeing Eye of that God, who will judge us for all our actions e're long, and will bring to light the hidden things of diſhoneſty. If we do thus love the Truth, both in the ſpeculations of it and in reducing theſe to practice, then we have made one ſtep towards that here promiſed in my Text.

The other thing enjoined is, That we love *Peace* likewiſe; not *Peace* in prejudice of, or oppoſition to Truth: but that *as far as poſſibly we can, we may live peaceably with all men.* Where we are in all things agreed there to love Peace is an eaſy and cheap piece of virtue: Of this may be ſaid what our Saviour ſaid of loving them that love us, *Do not Heathens and Publicans the ſame?* It is a ſign of a nature ſtrangely corrupted to begin quarrels and conteſts, when there is no cauſe given for them. To avoid this is ſuch a common piece of good nature, that it is rather a wonder how a man can do otherwiſe: but then does it appear that we love peace, if we can bring our minds to live peaceably with thoſe that differ from us, and have perhaps beſides the difference of Opinion really wronged us, or at leaſt done their endeavours. If with ſuch we live peaceably, then it appears that we are indeed the Sons and lovers of Peace. It is a falſe Maxim to think we are then the trueſt Proteſtants, when we have departed the furtheſt that is poſſible from every opinion or practice of the Church of *Rome*: for in this we may run into extreams: But we are ſure we can never run into any extream, by receding as far as we can from that ill temper of mind, which naturally follows that Religion, or rather is become

came a part of it. How little they love Peace, is apparent from the conduct of Religion in their hands from Pope *Victor*'s days downwards. He condemned the Eastern Churches for a thing of so little consequence, as whether *Easter* was to be observed on the 14*th* day of the month, or on the Sunday following. Since that time it were endless to shew you what disquiet they have given to the Christian World. They broke with the Greek Churches because they would not become subordinate to them: and then pretended other things, as that they Consecrated leavened and not unleavened Bread in the Sacrament; and that they Taught that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father by the Son, and not from the Son as well as from the Father: and upon these things not only broke Communion with them, but hindred the Princes of the Western Churches to give them any assistance, to defend them from the impressions that the Turks were making on them: and resolved rather to deliver up those ancient Churches, and so many Millions of Souls, to Mahometans, than that there should be any Christians upon Earth that would not become in all things obedient and subject to the Papacy. Shall I add to this, their sending so many great Princes with vast Armies, to be destroyed in the Wars, for recovering *Palestine*, which they called the holy War? The many Croisado's that they proclaimed against Hereticks or even Catholick Princes, as they called them, upon any imperious demands of theirs, when the Emperors or Kings did not tamely deliver up their Prerogatives, as well as their Necks to be trampled upon by them? It were long to reckon up the Princes they have deposed, and the Wars set on by them; but it were endless to reckon all the dismal effects of them. How was *Italy* and *Germany* rent in pieces by their means, with the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibellines*? And how often did *England* and *France* tremble at their thunders? Surely these cannot be the Sons of Peace, nor the Head of them, the Vicar of the Prince of Peace. Those that dare differ from them, know what the fruits of their Peace is: To be hunted after, To be damned first, and burnt next, are all the effects of their lenity. And as a great man expressed it pleasantly, *Though we are not sure that all whom they damn are damned, yet we are very sure that all whom they burn are burnt.* It is a vain attempt to hope ever to be at Peace with them; for that on which their Church founds all their other Doctrines, being her Infallibility,

L. *Faulkland.*

bility, it is a fooliſh thing to endeavour to convince them, that they have been in any one error, who make this the fundamental Article of their Religion, that their Church cannot err. So that all ſuch deſigns, ſhew either the ſimplicity and weakneſs, or the vanity and the ſelf-conceit of the undertakers. There is no peace to be had with them but at the expence of Truth: if we will renounce our Religion, and believe whatever they ſhall think fit to preſcribe, we may hope to purchaſe their favour; on other terms we muſt deſpair of it: and I hope we will not buy it ſo dear.

But ſince we cannot have peace with them, let us ſeek to have it among our ſelves: God be thanked none of our differences are ſuch as we may deſpair of reconciling them; or at leaſt of bearing with one anothers Infirmities and Miſtakes. When we come to die we will have another ſenſe of theſe things than we now have. Then all thoſe heats and animoſities which do now inflame us, will yield us no comfort; but on the contrary, will beget in us ſevere challenges. Of this I my ſelf was lately an eye-witneſs when called to aſſiſt one on his Death-bed, who had allowed himſelf to write with as much virulency as he could invent: but then he with many tears lamented it. It is true, he did not retract his opinions, nor was it thought ſeaſonable at ſuch a time to diſturb him with controverſy; but he ſincerely repented of that bitterneſs of ſpirit, upon the account of our differences, and that cenſuring and detracting humour to which he had given too much way before: He wiſht his Soul with the good men of the Church of *England*. He vowed that if he recovered, he ſhould never return to that Vomit: and becauſe he thought he was to die, he ſigned a retractation of all that was perſonal in his Writings; and exhorted all others to manage their differences with a more meek and Chriſtian temper. I mention this in ſo publick a manner, becauſe he authoriſed the Printing of that retractation, which he ſigned on his death-bed; and I enlarge the more on this, hoping that ſuch an example, from ſo learned and zealous a man, will have great influence on others to moderate their heat, and to allay their paſſions. Oh! for more of *that wiſdom that is from above, which is firſt pure, then peaceable, and eaſie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſy.*

Dr. *Lewis du Moulin.*

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The Circumſtances of this day ſhould diſpoſe us all more to this happy temper. I cannot ſay the breach between the late bleſſed King and his Parliament, or the War that followed, was begun or carried on merely upon the account of Religion; but certainly the ſourneſs that was on peoples tempers by reaſon of their differences in Religion, ſet it on much, and made it more laſting, and end more Tragically. Many were tranſported at firſt beyond their duties, by the extreme way of carrying matters before the War, by ſome that were more zealous than prudent: and certainly things were driven much further in concluſion, than was at firſt intended by them that took up Arms. There is a fatal ſeries in ſome diſtractions; one ſtep not only makes way for another, but makes it in ſome ſort neceſſary for their ſecurity that have gone too far. In the end all were loſers, and the Nation was like to be ruined. Thoſe of the Church not only loſt all that they enjoyed, their Goods, and their Benefices and Dignities, but they loſt him who was their *Head on Earth*, who was and ſtill muſt be, one of the greateſt Glories of this Church. Thoſe of the Separation were not gainers by it; a new party not thought of at firſt, roſe up and took the game out of their hands: and when they had forced the Parliament, and killed the King, they entitled the reſt to all they had done: and pretended they had gone on truly according to the Principles upon which they had ſet out at firſt. And though they were gentler to thoſe of the Diviſion, than to thoſe of the Church, yet they were to have been devoured at laſt, if a happy Revolution had not taken the Nation out of their hands. Upon ſuch a ſad experiment, eſpecially ſeconded with thoſe dreadful hazards to which we ſee our ſelves now expoſed, it might be expected that men of all ſides ſhould grow wiſer and more temperate; and that many that are for the Church ſhould abate of their ſtiffneſs, in things not Eſſential; and that they on the other hand, that inſiſt on ſome indifferent matters, would conſider things better without any heat and animoſity. And thus if we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, that is, to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion againſt thoſe Enemies of Truth and Peace at *Rome*, and unite at home all that are capable of it, by adjuſting matters among our ſelves, and thoſe that cannot come into that Union, being at leaſt inoffenſive to them that do, and ſo all living in Love and Peace one with another, then we may hope to ſee that accompliſhed in our caſe, which

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is in my Text promiſed to the *Jews*, the third thing I propoſed to ſpeak to.

3. That all the ſad effects of that for which we now mourn ſhall be then entirely removed: that our days of Faſting ſhall be turned into ſolemn and chearful Feaſts: then ſhould our Twenty ninth of *May*, ſwallow up the remembrance of the Thirtieth of *January*: or perhaps as the Prophet foretold, ſuch happy deliverances ſhould come to the *Jews*, as ſhould make even that out of *Egypt*, be forgotten; ſo we might hope for ſuch days as ſhould out-ſhine and darken the very Twenty ninth of *May*. Then might we hope to ſee *Halcyon* days, or, to ſpeak in an Engliſh phraſe, Queen *Elizabeth* days again. If we were delivered from the fears of Popery, and an end were put to our Conteſts at home; if King and People, if City and Country, if Conformiſts and Diſſenters all would happily conſpire in the duties propoſed in my Text, of *loving Truth and Peace*, Then ſhould all our drooping Hearts revive again, all the miſts that now environ us ſhould vaniſh, all our fears and jealouſies ſhould fall off: and we being of one Heart and Mind ſhould be the Paradiſe and Joy of the whole Earth, and the Glory and Bulwark of the Reformed Religion: and this great City ſhould be a City wherein Righteouſneſs ſhould dwell. Then ſhould we lie down and riſe in Peace: Alarms and Diſtractions ſhould ceaſe: Peace ſhould be within your Gates, and Proſperity within your Houſes, or rather Palaces, for ſuch many of them are. Oh may we ever hope to ſee ſuch days, and ſuch a time. If we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, then ſhall even this Faſt of the Tenth month, according to the Jewiſh account, be to us Joy and Gladneſs and a chearful Feaſt. The God of Truth and Peace give us Grace to ſet about it ſincerely. To him be all Honour and Glory both now and evermore.

F I N I S.